1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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642 631 It remains to indicate the relation of the formal government to the actual social organization. The local political unit, the *municipalidad*, embraces Tepoztlán and the seven satellite hamlets and is therefore a recognition of the natural community. The seat of municipal government is at Tepoztlán. It consists of a 646 municipal council (*consejo municipal*), embracing one [693] chief officer (*presidente*) and eight assistants (*ayu-* [692] *dantes*), a secretary, and a judge (*juez*). The last, with the aid of a more literate secretary, hears local complaints, and, if he cannot compose them, transmits memoranda on such matters to Cuernavaca. The government is in form elected annually on the first of 666 January. In fact, it is (at the time of this study) ap- 647 pointed from Cuernavaca, the seat of the state gov- 648 ernment, from among those in political sympathy with the state government in power.[1] At present,[2] [665] election by viva voce, as an emergency measure, under control of the party in power, permits a slate to be installed with the active participation of a handful of adherents and the almost complete indifference of the body of the population.

646 This government does little beyond the administration of routine matters. Except for occasional regulations dealing with the exploitation of or possible injury to the communal lands, no legislation is passed. 651 An attempt is made to collect local taxes,[3] but such

[1] During 1927 the Campesinos (rural radical party).

[2] 1927.

[3] There are four: a tax on real estate, a sales tax on domestic animals, a tax for use of the slaughter-house, and the tax on merchants using the public *plaza*.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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646 Disregarding such occasional foreigners in the political personnel, one may say that the municipal council is expressive rather than active. It maintains prestige, presides at public meetings, and receives the salutations of visitors. Actual work, as, for example, the 565 665 installation of a lamp in the *plaza*, the exploitation of marketable wild roots on the public lands, or the promotion of the secular celebrations, is done by the small group of townspeople who are richer, better educated, and more accustomed to city ways than others. These men are the shopkeepers and many of the artisans. They are *los correctos*—the "correct" people—as contrasted with *los tontos*[1]—the "ignorant" [291] people. The former wear shoes and dark trousers; the latter, sandals and white trousers. The personnel of the municipal government now tends to be drawn from *los tontos*, while *los correctos* constitute the influential citizens who occupy the other half of the platform at public meetings but who regard politics with something akin to disdain. Politics, therefore, is enjoyed by the same element in the population that organizes the religious *fiestas*, and, like these, constitutes a form of play.

[104] [1] It may be stated, perhaps unnecessarily, that these two terms (*tontos* and *correctos*) are used in the following pages not in their original Spanish meanings, but merely to designate two groups in Tepoztlán that are sometimes so designated by the people themselves, and that lack other convenient names.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The negative reactions of the peasants to conscription stem from a number of causes. Many recalled the hateful system of forced recruiting which had existed under the Díaz regime and feared that this system was now being reinstituted. Parents were distrustful of the care and food their sons would receive in the army and worried about their fate among strangers in the hostile outside world. Also, the absence of an eighteen-year-old son for a year often meant a serious economic loss to the family. Tepoztecans do not identify national problems of defense or internal order with their own interests, and they resent having to fight other people's (i.e., Mexicans') battles. Local feeling against conscription reached its climax when it was rumored that the young men were being prepared to fight against the Germans at the orders of the United States. This rumor was spread throughout Mexico by the Sinarquistas.

JUSTICE AND THE DEPARTAMENTO DE GOBERNACIÓN

There are very few occasions when local court cases reach the federal courts. However, federal intervention was sought during the hectic political campaigns of the twenties, when Tepoztecans who were imprisoned for political reasons appealed for federal injunctions to get them free. More recently a boundary conflict between Tepoztlán and Tejalpa reached the Federal Supreme Court, and Tepoztecans have sent many delegations to visit the justices of this court to explain their case.

Another federal department with which Tepoztecans have had some contact is *Gobernación* which is responsible for preserving public order throughout Mexico and for the smooth functioning of political campaigns and elections.

As we have seen, the attitude of Tepoztecans toward most federal agencies is a negative one. The outstanding exception is the school, which was built with federal funds and which is appreciated by the populace. The fact is that Tepoztecans might obtain more aid from federal agencies if they sought it out. However, the attitude of suspicion and self-sufficiency of the older generation militates against this. Now that the younger generation is beginning to take over positions of power, the situation may change. Angel Bocanegra, president of the municipio, is a good example of this. Bocanegra did not hesitate to go to Mexico City and visit the various federal departments soliciting aid for the village. In preparing for the celebration of the national holidays in 1949, Bocanegra borrowed an electric generator from one agency to provide electricity for the occasion, a movie projector from another agency, and from still another agency he received the promise of help in improving the quality of the local water supply.

Dealings of Tepoztecans with the administrative apparatus of the state government are quite frequent and are facilitated by the proximity of Cuernavaca. The governor of the state is an important figure to Tepoztecans. It would be difficult to find Tepoztecans who do not know the name of the present governor, and many can recall at least a few past governors. Indeed, some even remember the names of some of the governors of the Díaz epoch. The governor is thought of as "almost the president." However, the fact that they have seen the governor more

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The feeling of superiority of Tepoztecans is also revealed in their characterizations of the other villagers. The people from Ocotitlán are described as "bad" people, as "assassins," or as "poor Indians"; of the people of Gabriel Mariaca, Tepoztecans say, "son tontitos" (they are foolish), or "they are rich but they don't know how to spend because of their ignorance." The women of Gabriel Mariaca are looked down upon because they work in the fields, wear straw hats, and carry heavy loads "like men." Some of the traditional nicknames applied to the surrounding villages are also revealing in this connection. Thus, Gabriel Mariaca is referred to as *cuatalteme* (heads of earth, dull heads, or backward), La Calera as *cuatichtiantin* (white-headed people, because they make lime).

The political dominance of Tepoztlán over the other villages is clear. Although in theory any adult from any one of the eight villages of the municipio can become president, in practice it is almost always a Tepoztecan. The only exception known to me is the case of José Hernández from the village of Gabriel Mariaca, but he was imposed by the state governor. Rarely, a lesser office, like councilman's, may be filled from one of the surrounding villages, but this happens only as a result of a political deal.

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be called upon for service to the community. Failure to respond to such a call is punishable by a fine or jail sentence. However, a man can pay the daily wage of a substitute if desired. When the task is a relatively small one and more men are called up than are needed for the actual work, some are asked to contribute food or drink instead of labor.

The better-to-do families generally do not participate in the village *cuatequitl*, since they consider such work beneath their dignity and prefer to pay for substitutes. The main source of labor for the village *cuatequitl* are the poor who cannot afford substitutes or fines. The men from the smaller and poorer barrios have the reputation of being the most industrious and reliable workers for the *cuatequitl*. This is related to the fact that they have little political influence and have greater fear of the authorities.

The village *cuatequitl* is organized in terms of the eight *demarcaciones* or wards into which the village is divided. The *ayudante* or representative of each *demarcación* is ordered to announce a *cuatequitl* in his ward, and specific men are designated to appear at a given time and place. The attendance of the men is checked by the *ayudante* from his list.[11] Sometimes, when men are needed at short notice, more direct means are used to assure successful recruitment.

In a recent boundary dispute with the municipio of Tejalpa, the authorities posted aides at all the roads and paths leading out of the village to intercept the men as they went to their fields early in the morning. In this way 600 men were recruited in one day, and they were set to work to cut through the forest overgrowth which covered the disputed boundary line. In this case, since it was a municipio boundary, men from the other villages were also recruited. Other instances of inter-village *cuatequitl* have occurred in the repair of bridges which are used in common.

In recent years there have been very few village *cuatequitls* of major importance. In 1934 some work was done to improve the market place. The last important village *cuatequitl* was organized in 1926–27 while Redfield was in the village.[12] At this time, under the initiative of the local political faction known as the Bolsheviki, communal washbasins were constructed. (See Fig. 20.) During the twenties, political feelings ran so high and cleavages were so marked that members of the opposition group refused to work in *cuatequitls* organized by those in power. Fines were out of the question at the time because authority could not be enforced.

During the early thirties, when political schisms were still strong, there occurred an unusual type of voluntary village *cuatequitl* for the construction of the road to Cuernavaca. Led by two enterprising non-Tepoztecan schoolteachers and with the backing of the colony of Tepoztecans in Mexico City, the villagers decided to build a road to Cuernavaca. The two political factions, the Bolsheviki and the Frater-

[11] Some men will work until the check-off and then slip away.

[12] Before the Revolution, when there was more money in the local treasury and when the local government was in the hands of *caciques* whose tenure was quite stable, there were many more *cuatequitls* than now.

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a sorry picture. Inefficiency, irresponsibility of officials, dishonesty and graft, lack of local funds for public improvements, betrayal by leaders, widespread suspicion of the government and its motives, lack of village unity, and apathy are among the salient traits.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The local government is known as the *ayuntamiento* and consists of the following officers: president, *síndico procurador*, *regidor de hacienda*, secretary of the *ayuntamiento*, treasurer, police chief, sub-police chief, *juez menor*, secretary to the *juez menor*, and porter. In addition there are eight *ayudantes*, each representing one of the *demarcaciones* of the village. The president, *síndico*, *regidor*, and *juez menor* are elected by popular vote for a two-year period.[1] The other officials are appointed by the president in agreement with the *síndico* and *regidor*.

The duties of the major officials are determined by state law. The way in which the officials function depends upon their personalities. A meek president will serve only as a figurehead and allow the *síndico* and secretary to run the government. An aggressive president may in turn take over the functions of the other officials. The president is the executive officer and as such is the official representative of the village in dealings with the outside. His signature is necessary for most correspondence and official acts. He sets the fines for infractions of the law; in addition, the inhabitants often bring their private difficulties and family quarrels to him.

The *síndico* is charged with responsibility for protecting the communal resources of the municipio, that is, the lands, forests, and water resources. It is he who guards the titles to these resources. He has authority to use the local police to apprehend anyone suspected of immoderate or illegal use of communal resources. The *síndico*, together with the president, inspects the accounts of the municipio. In addition, he is responsible for the inspection of cattle before they are slaughtered to determine that they are not diseased. He must inspect the cattle brands to be sure that the cattle have not been stolen. Furthermore, he is the sub-agent of the Ministerio Público, and in this capacity acts as an attorney general, responsible for investigating all violations of the laws of the state.

The *regidor* is responsible for the financial operations of the municipio, and the treasurer serves as his assistant.

By far the greatest number of tasks falls to the secretary of the *ayuntamiento*. He is generally the most literate of the officials, and the present officeholder is a competent typist. He opens and closes the government offices six days a week, signs all correspondence, attends all public functions, maintains the records of the municipio, advises the other officers of the state law, keeps the president informed of all complaints, and attends to all complaints and requests for certifications.

The chief of police is directly responsible to the president and the entire *ayun-*

[1] There have also been other changes in the number of government employees. The present government organization follows the requirements of the State Constitution of 1930. From 1910–30 the state of Morelos was under military rule.

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tamiento. He organizes the nightly village watch and makes arrests when necessary

During the dry season the government offices are generally open between 9:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M. and between 4:00 P.M. and 7:00 P.M. During the agricultural season the hours are much more irregular, and oftentimes the officials close the offices and go to their fields to plant or cultivate. The same thing happens during the harvest.

The salaries paid to officials are extremely low, even by Tepoztecan standards. They are paid a daily rate in pesos as follows:

President	3.00
Síndico	2.00
Regidor	2.00
Secretary	2.50
Treasurer	2.50
Chief of police	2.00
Assistant to chief	1.75
Porter	1.50
Judge	1.00
Secretary to judge	1.50

These low salaries are one of the factors which encourage graft on the part of the officials.

The village officials are mostly from the larger barrios of San Miguel, La Santísima, and Santo Domingo. A review of the officeholders since 1920 showed that not a single president was from San Pedro, Los Reyes, or San Sebastián. The reasons given for this are as follows: (1) the smaller barrios have traditionally been viewed as the more backward barrios and without political power; (2) residents of the small barrios say that only dishonest people seek the presidency, that they have connections with politicians in Cuernavaca, and that they have some funds for propaganda. Most of the presidents and officials between 1920 and 1943 could read and write, and included individuals who were highly acculturated and little acculturated. In 1943 all the officials wore huaraches while at work, but all could read and write.

The sources of income of the municipio are varied and are shown in the following budget for the year 1943:[2]

	Income (Pesos)
Traveling merchants[3]	50
Public diversions (movies)[4]	20
Slaughter of animals	2,500
Service for water	300

[2] These data were copied from local records and are official estimates of budget income. Generally the income is about 1,000 pesos below these estimates.

[3] The very small income obtained from traveling merchants reflects the decadence of the local market and the paucity of merchants from other areas.

[4] The municipio receives a ten per cent tax on the gross receipts from movies. The small

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Year	*Income* (Pesos)
1934	4,011.80
1935	3,742.60
1936	—
1937	5,162.49
1938	4,795.75
1939	6,494.70
1940	7,088.58
1941	6,467.74
1942	7,617.03
1943	7,568.99

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Since the salaries of the officials amounted to over seven thousand pesos per year (during the forties), it is obvious that there was little money left over for public improvements. This is one of the demoralizing factors in local government and also one of the reasons that the Tepoztecans generally look to the federal government for help. Each president who enters office promises to do something for his pueblo. But he soon learns that there are no funds, not to mention the other difficulties. To make matters worse, many villagers are convinced that the local government officials, especially the president, *síndico*, *regidor*, and secretary, are dishonest and have a large income from illegal dealings. But this does not deny the fact that the official income is much too meager for any significant public works program with local funds.

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It will be noted that the municipio has practically no income from land taxes. Most of the taxes on land goes to the state government. The state government collected over sixty thousand pesos in taxes in the twelve years between 1931 and 1943 for which data are available.[6] During this entire period the only state funds which went back to the village were for the salary of the state tax collector who was paid on a pro rata basis.

The taxes which go to the federal government are considerably smaller than those which go to the state. Federal taxes taken out of Tepoztlán are shown in the following:

Year	*Pesos*
1938	2,529.86
1939	2,455.04
1940	—
1941	3,118.99
1942	3,794.55
1943	3,568.77

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The routine business of the local government consists primarily of issuing permits for various types of activities. The most frequent requests include the following:

Permits for fiestas, religious and secular
Permits for slaughter of animals

[6] These data were obtained from the official state tax records in Cuernavaca.

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Permits to utilize municipal resources: to cut wood, pasture animals, and gather stones
Requests for certifications of birth, death, and marriage
Requests to register brands on cattle
Requests for marriage licenses
Permits to repair streets
Requests for *ejido* plots
Permits to pipe water to a house from the main line
Permits to dynamite rock

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[691]

In addition to these routine functions, the local government, through the office of the *juez menor*, hears many complaints and quarrels. Complaints are usually first presented to the president, and he attempts to resolve the difficulty without recourse to the judge. The complaints most frequently heard by the president are given in the order of their frequency of occurrence.

Quarrels between neighbors about family matters
Litigations between neighbors over property matters
Quarrels due to drunkenness
Quarrels between neighbors over animals
Quarrels between husbands and wives
Quarrels because of damages caused by animals
Cases involving accusations of stealing of animals
Cases involving assault
Cases involving calumny
Charges of immorality
[847] Fraud
Infanticide

[681] When the quarrel cannot be settled by the president, it is passed on to the local judge, and occasionally Tepoztecans are jailed. An analysis of the records of the local justice for 1920, 1927, 1935, 1941, 1942, and 1943 revealed the types and frequency of cases shown in Table 53.

674 The thing to be noted about these data is the relatively high incidence of crime. An analysis of the relative frequency of each type of case shows that five offenses—robbery, lesions and blows, injuries and threats, calumny or defamation, and damages—account for 73 per cent of the 808 cases recorded. It must be remembered that these data are only for reported cases. A large number of cases never reach the judge.

174 ## *POLITICAL HISTORY*

As has been noted earlier, recent archaeological work in Tepoztlán shows a continued occupation of some sites since the Archaic period.[7] This would place the age of these sites at about the time of Christ. The early ceramic horizons show eastern and southern influences, and the later horizons show northern influences from

[7] Muller, *Chimalacatlan*, p. 55. See also Appendix B, p. 453.

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of whom were Tepoztecans. The cooperative was organized according to a plan suggested by the authorities in Cuernavaca. It had a directive body consisting of a president, secretary, and treasurer. The cooperative bought the charcoal from its members at the price of thirty-five pesos a *tonelado*. But it deducted eight per cent for handling expenses, including payment of the tax to the forestry department, a salary for the secretary, and for office equipment.

The cooperative became a powerful force in the village, and entered into politics. Its president, Juan Hidalgo, was elected president of the municipio in 1933 and 1934. In this capacity, Hidalgo was able to use the funds of the cooperative for public works and thereby gained much popularity. Under Hidalgo's leadership the cooperative sponsored the repair of the municipal building, the construction of the few public toilets in the courthouse, the construction of a school in the barrio of Los Reyes, and one in the outlying villages of San Juan, Santiago, and Ocotitlán. Juan Hidalgo became wealthy and powerful. An informant, sympathetic to Hidalgo, explained how this happened.

> In spite of the fact that Hidalgo began very poor he earned much money. He controlled the funds of the cooperative and made many loans to his friends and *compadres* in the village. He had in his hands the credit of the village, for anyone who needed a loan had to come to him. This way he became very powerful. In his hands was the economic fate of many. He could make them or break them.

Hidalgo had many enemies, especially the leaders of the former cooperative of the village of San Juan. In 1935 he was shot and killed. Informants blamed the killing on residents of San Juan. In the village itself the cooperative was fought by the Fraternales. But the prospects of an immediate income could not be resisted by the Tepoztecans, and the cooperative won out in the early years. After Hidalgo's death, however, the cooperative began to decline. The succeeding president was accused of financial irregularities and fled the village for his life. An investigator from the Departamento Agrario confirmed the accusation and charged all the officials with negligence. The major burden of blame fell on the president; and since he had fled, nothing could be done.

After the death of Hidalgo, the candidate of the Fraternales was elected president, and many difficulties were placed in the path of the cooperative. The president denounced the cooperative to the federal forest authorities for excessive and illegal cutting of trees. The authorities investigated and fined the cooperative and finally in 1937, the cooperative went into bankruptcy and was dissolved.

The political history of the village since the middle thirties is given in the following account, written for me by an informant who has been close to the local government throughout this period. His account gives the reader something of the local flavor of politics, with its buying of votes "by dint of a few glasses of pulque," the drunkenness and petty thievery of officials, and the bitterness between local political factions. His use of the term "Bolsheviki" in referring to the Fraternales reflects the identification of the two in the minds of many Tepoztecans.

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ADMINISTRATION OF 1935–36

175 665 666 [646] In 1934 the candidates came up for the state elections. There were three contenders, Francisco Alvarez, J. Guadalupe Pineda, and Refugio Bustamante. Most Tepoztecans were Alvaristas. Pineda ranked second, and Bustamante, with less than thirty followers, ranked third. But since Bustamante was the official candidate, he became the governor of the state. As a result, the members of the town council had to be Bustamantistas. The few Bustamantistas and the Pinedistas joined forces and elected Leonardo Sánchez and Carlos Labastida, Bustamantistas; and Marcos Flores, who represented the *ejido* faction in the village. The townspeople were their unyielding enemies, and the most scandalous days in Tepoztecan politics followed. The new council took office on January 1, 1935. The opposition party began to criticize the members of the council. One member of the opposition was Jesús Conde. When the municipal president learned that this Conde was criticizing the council, he waited for an opportunity to attack him.

175 665 Once when Conde was in a drunken state he struck a certain Angel Hernández with his pistol. The municipal president sent his chief of police to apprehend Conde and put him in the public jail. On the following day, when they brought him out to question him about his crime, Conde's anger had not lessened, and in the very council chamber he stated that it was a well-known and notorious fact that the incumbent council was a nullity. As the municipal president also continued to be angry, the matter went to the department head of the Ministerio Público. The matter even reached the ears of the governor of the state at that time.

On March 23, 1935, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, an envoy arrived at the municipal presidency stating that the president of the republic, General Lázaro Cárdenas, was approaching the town on account of the matter of the monument, "El Tepozteco." The council sent messengers from one place to another proposing a reception, conferring with the band, some of whose members were not in town. That day the president reached the town by rail and returned by truck to Cuernavaca, via a road which had been laid out and built by some citizens of the town about 1930. Among the persons making up the reception committee was Jesús Conde, who brought up among other problems that of the highway of Cuernavaca. On the first of April, 1935, work on the highway began, with the help of Cárdenas.

175 665 666 About the middle of April, there were elections to select deputies to the state legislature. The candidates for this district were Daniel Ramos Mendoza and the alternate, Juan Hidalgo, ex-municipal president of this town. As the council took its seat first, the people of the candidate for alternate deputy counted on plenty of enemies. On election day, as was usual, the people were milling around in the central streets from early in the morning, awaiting the time of the recount to deposit the votes bought by dint of a few glasses of pulque[*] and some barbecued meat. After midday, their spirits began to rise as a result of the pulque. The municipal president sent the police to pacify the turbulent ones. The police were received with blows and stones. The voters, heated by alcohol and by the anger they felt toward the council, saw that it was a propitious occasion to revenge themselves somehow upon their political rivals, and throwing themselves upon the police they succeeded in taking away their weapons. Some of the troublemakers were arrested. They succeeded in sending a lawyer, who insulted the municipal president in the council chamber and achieved, by shouts and insults, the liberation of the troublemakers.

[*] Tepoztecans generally do not drink pulque.

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[1935-1936]

During these months, the municipal president and the councilmen ruled that the sellers of pork should slaughter the animals in the municipal slaughterhouse. The meat dealers accepted, but little by little they began to make difficulties, disobeying the orders of the municipal authority. The butchers were quite right because the little shed built by the council did not meet their needs. The council forgot the projects it had laid out, and because of the reduced state of the municipal exchequer, and the very few people who would help the council in any undertaking, it resigned itself to completing the paving of a few streets in the town. 175 646

Among the people upon whom the council counted were the Bolsheviki, who from the beginning adhered to the Bustamantistas. That group controlled what was then the National Revolutionary Party which at that time owned good office equipment which passed on to the municipal president. But in the month of May, without explanation, the Bolsheviki elements quarrelled with the municipal president, and in vengeance took back all the furniture from his office, leaving the clerks there with only two or three rickety chairs. Finding the office without furniture, they went to the Cooperative Forestry Association, at that time in enemy hands, to ask for a half dozen chairs. As a result of this quarrel the municipal president was completely abandoned, without friends; there remained only a few Bolsheviki who were loyal to the president's office. 175 665

On the twenty-fourth of June, Juan Hidalgo, the victorious alternate candidate for local deputy, celebrated his saint's day. This gentleman was in the market place completely drunk. At about seven-thirty in the evening when the employees had just left the municipal offices, loud detonations were heard in front of the Town Hall, where there was a party of federal troops. Those who had attacked the Town Hall divided into two groups, some went toward the federal troops and some went toward Juan Hidalgo's house where they proceeded to drag him from his home by force and take him to be murdered on the edge of town. It was learned afterward that the municipal president at that time had come to an agreement with the attackers, according to investigations made afterward which were never brought to light.

About that time the local comptroller (*regidor de hacienda*), Carlos Labastida, was very fond of alcoholic beverages. He used to go behind the Town Hall with his bottles of liquor and offer drinks to the federal troops. The commanding officer of the detachment became aware of this and succeeded in having the aforesaid functionary relieved of his position. They called up the alternate, who was then Pablo Gómez, a completely ignorant person. About the month of October, when the completion of the highway was almost at hand, the council began to organize the work for the inauguration of the highway by creating its governing board. [661] [646]

One Sunday, while the comptroller was presiding over a meeting concerning the work of organizing the inauguration, the same group, which had come to attack them before, entered the town again, going as far as the meeting place and threatening the comptroller. They made all those present shout "Long live the Virgin of Guadalupe!" which they all shouted with a single voice, to avoid being beaten or murdered by the opposition. Among the bandits was one from this place who was nicknamed Juan the Drum,[*] who fell into the hands of the municipal president, as will be seen later.

The ninth of January, 1936, was the day of the inauguration of the highway; attending were the governor of the state and the secretary of communications and public works.

[*] John the Liar.

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[1935-1936]

175 665 representing the president of Mexico. The ceremony progressed in a humble manner, with a simple meal being served to the guests in the parlors of the *ayuntamiento*, paid for by the state government with some help from the township. It was nearing the time of Carnaval when the municipal president was drinking with a few friends, some of whom were already drunk. One of them lived in the barrio of La Santísima, and the municipal president was on the alert, carrying a good pistol which the governor of the state had sent him. It was about eight in the evening. They came near the corner of La Santísima, when there appeared a suspicious looking person wrapped in a serape. The municipal president threw himself upon him without saying a word, and succeeded in knocking him down. The man was carrying a rifle concealed in his serape. They turned a flashlight on him and were able to recognize that he was the so-called Juan the Drum. At the moment in which he was recognized, he made a supreme effort to flee and succeeded in slipping away, and as he took flight the municipal president made use of his pistol and hit the man. The man was brought to the Town Hall and later was taken to Cuernavaca. He died on the way.

175 ●646 665 Politics was still at its apogee, and the council continued to be the target of every criticism. Someone of the opposite party proposed that the council be deposed. One day the people began to riot in the public gardens, as if it were an election day. There was a table and a number of people around it, taking part as if they were electing a candidate. The municipal president and the rest of the *regidores* had noticed it, and began to spread the alarm to his adherents, all Bolsheviki, so that he should not be alone. The people were awaiting the arrival of a representative of the League of Agrarian Communities,[*] and as soon as he arrived, they set out en masse toward the municipal president's office to request by main force that he should resign. But they did not succeed. The municipal president pointed out to them that there was among them no representative of the state government to declare legal that which they requested. The people attached to the municipal president found themselves only spectators, since no one came up with a solution, and they left the municipal president to defend himself.

[548] Soon afterward, the municipal president came down with a venereal disease. A house of prostitution had opened in Tepoztlán some months before, and the president had gone there almost daily. As his illness pursued its course he was obliged to go to Mexico City to have it attended to. He began by taking a furlough of seventy days from his office, leaving in his place the comptroller. At this time the acting comptroller was a teacher who was not from the town but who was in with the municipal president for reasons which were not clear. Taking advantage of the president's absence, the opposing politicians plotted to get rid of him without fulfilling the legal requirements. When he returned from Mexico City he found that instead of the comptroller officiating, the alternate municipal president was in office. The municipal president protested, pointing out that it was contrary to the law, and after a great deal of excitement he again took charge.

[666] The time for seeking new candidates for the municipal presidency arrived. Fortino Guzmán was the candidate for the League of Agrarian Communities, and Rafael Gutiérrez for the Fraternales. Rafael Gutiérrez also was of the party of the council. The council was fighting desperately to get a successor from its own party. They were conferring every moment with the deputies and in some cases even the governor himself, who told them that victory was assured.

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[*] This organization worked with the Centrales against the Bolsheviki and the Fraternales.

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[1935–1936]

The day of the elections and days before, the council had sent messages to the municipal councils so that they should try to spread propaganda as much as possible in favor of their candidate. That election day, in spite of the fact that the League had spread a lot of propaganda, the candidate Rafael Gutiérrez won. The case was completely certain, and the council was congratulating itself. 175 665 666 646

Before the installation of Rafael Gutiérrez on the first of January, 1937, the computing body had already extended him his credentials. It was the twenty-fourth of December, when after the employees at the municipal president's office had gone home leaving everything in its place, it was noted upon opening the office the next day that one of the doors was wide open and that a typewriter was missing. Later it was learned that someone of the opposite party had entered the president's office and removed the typewriter. Now the installation was only two or three days off. The candidate Rafael Gutiérrez went to the municipal president's office to register his credentials which the computing body had given him.

Then, one afternoon about five o'clock, there appeared a group of men led by Pedro Flores, to present to the municipal president an official publication in which the state Congress declared that the municipal president was Fortino Guzmán! (He had availed himself of the help of some friends in the city of Cuernavaca who were close to the state Congress.) When the municipal president learned this he immediately informed Rafael Gutiérrez who told him what had happened and immediately yielded, pointing out that if superior authority declared it so, there was no help for it. The municipal president and the rest of the *regidores* immediately left for Cuernavaca to interview the governor of the state, but he answered them that he had nothing to do with the matter since the state Congress had declared it so. They came back completely downcast, and that was the end of this administration of 1935–36.

ADMINISTRATION OF 1939–40

Before January 1, 1939, Donaciano Linares was elected municipal president to officiate in the period 1939–40 with Serafín Velásquez and Rafael Gutiérrez. The candidates Donaciano Linares and Serafín Velásquez belonged to the then famous League of Agrarian Communities, and Rafael Gutiérrez belonged to the Fraternales. The new municipal president bought himself a black suit for the installation. The day of the installation there were people of the two political parties, the council having been made up in the following form: President, Donaciano Linares; Attorney General, Serafín Velásquez; and (*regidor*), Rafael Gutiérrez. 175 646 665

The municipal president had in his service his brother as chief of police. Since both were rather fond of drink, there were occasions when they fought with each other in public. Once when the municipal president was drunk, he had a few silver pesos in his pockets, and went to the market and began to drink toasts, at the same time striking his pockets to make his money jingle to show how much he had. On another occasion, there was a woman in the market whom he disliked considerably, and when he recognized her he began to insult her with vile words until he grew tired of it. In the Town Hall there were quarrels even among the *regidores*, especially with the comptroller who was not of their party. The comptroller did not allow himself to be insulted and constantly threatened the municipal president with sending word to the governor of the state. 175 646 661

Since this municipal president was one of the most politically minded men in town, during his administration he dedicated himself to giving banquets to influential people,

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[1939-1940]

175 646 661 among them the governor of the state, the local deputies, and the federal deputies. He was helped by some friends of his backed up by the employees. The comptroller, who scarcely liked to drink at all, occasionally took the president home when the latter was too drunk to walk.

[253] The attorney general, who was charged with listing all the animals that were slaughtered in the municipal slaughterhouse, was known to let some stolen animals pass, from which he received a share of the profit. Other people said that these were mere calumnies, but the real truth was never known, namely, that he stayed simply to help at the slaughtering time and to take some pieces of meat or a bucket of blood which he used for food.

The municipal president, in turn, was sometimes known to be playing a bad game, that is, if some person had some problems he sold favors, charging a few pesos. There was a concrete case. A young man tried to rape a girl one evening. The members of the family immediatqly went to the Town Hall to ask for help from the police. The young man was caught and taken to the municipal jail. The next day the members of his family succeeded in bribing the municipal president with 20 pesos. The municipal president there told the boy to say that he was very sick at his stomach. The boy did so, and since the municipal president could not pronounce judgment then, he tried to have the girl's family desist from their claim and threatened to fine them. They withdrew very calmly, without knowing they had been deceived. Various cases of this kind were seen during this administration, sometimes by agreement with the attorney general but almost never with the comptroller, because the latter had occupied posts of this nature before, and did not wish it to turn out badly again.

There were times when this municipal president went to see one or another of the business men who had unsettled accounts with the municipal treasury. He would order beer or something else and say, "Charge this up to your contribution." Then he would tell the municipal treasurer that he owed money in such and such a tavern. The same thing happened with the butchers; he would go and ask for a kilo or two of meat and charge it to the account of the butcher's license to slaughter cattle in the municipal slaughterhouse. When the butchers were killing beef cattle he willingly assisted them, so that they would give him a piece of meat.

175 648 Once when the neighboring people of Tejalpa had violated the boundaries and were trying to invade the lands of this township, the matter reached the ears of the council, who immediately proceeded to call a meeting of all the citizens. With the support of the guard, which existed in the town, they marched toward the place where the aforesaid violation had occurred. When they got there, the people from here, who numbered about 150 armed men, with the municipal president at their head, threw themselves upon the men from Tejalpa; and an engineer, commissioned by the Department of Agriculture, was disarmed and taken prisoner to this place. The rest of the men from Tejalpa were put in the public prison. The engineer tried to protest, but his protests had no effect.

175 646 661 Several months after his installation as president, Donaciano Linares bought a little car; no one knew how. He began to drive it in the evenings on the highway, sometimes having an accident, hitting an animal or another car. But since he was the municipal president hardly anyone protested. During his administration the budget improved a little, a typewriter was bought. But he carried it off to his house about two days before the installation of the succeeding council. The same thing happened with a wall clock which was bought in this period. He tried to take it away, but he did not succeed because the other councillors prevented him.

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[1939-1940]

During this administration there were some efforts to complete the highway between Tepoztlán and Yautepec. After many attempts the administration succeeded in getting the state government to send a few men to work. They completed a small stretch of road. At the end of the administration, the municipal president began to work in politics, with the aim of leaving some friend or relative of his as his successor. He even began to inform the towns in the township of the official slate, and he was quite involved because he was leaving his stepfather as the future attorney general. This slate was victorious, as may be easily understood, since there was no opposition candidate. The municipal president organized a dance for the installation, as a symbol of his satisfaction with his administrative effort, although almost nothing was done during his term, except the paving of a few streets.

175 646 661

ADMINISTRATION OF 1941–42

On the eighth of December, 1940, the victory was won by the only candidate for the municipal presidency, with the other councillors whose names were as follows: President, Fulgencio Campos; Attorney General, Saturnino Córdova; and Comptroller, Fortino Lara. To complete the installation, a lively dance was organized in the market place at eight in the evening on December thirty-first, and at ten the following morning the transferring of the municipal powers was accomplished. Shortly after the installation the municipal president called together all the councillors and employees of the township, and when they were all together he spoke to them, pointing out the errors that the previous council had committed, with relation to the frequent drinking sprees of the municipal president and all the employees. He proposed that if any one of them wanted to take a few drinks, he should ask permission the day before, so that his place might be taken by someone else. In this way, it would at least be known that an employee was not staying away because he had some other job to do. All the employees and councillors accepted the proposal.

175 646 663

The council began to work and make efforts for the introduction of electrical power into the town,[29] making trips to Mexico City to interview the chiefs of the Secretariat of National Economy. Engineers were sent to the town to make studies to be submitted for the consideration of the high chiefs of this secretariat. A few months after the installation of the municipal president, his aspirations for improvements in the town fell to earth. Before becoming president, Fulgencio Campos had many illusions about the council having plenty of funds which might be used to improve the economic situation of the inhabitants. He soon lost heart, seeing that the municipal treasury was not receiving the money that he had imagined it would. He had also been saying that the previous presidents had done nothing for their people because they did not want to, and that they became presidents in order to get drunk and to commit misdemeanors.

[377]

Saturnino Córdova was functioning as attorney general and under-secretary of the Ministerio Público, and he was not at all qualified, for he could hardly sign his name. The municipal president proposed that it would be preferable that Córdova might better occupy the post of comptroller, changing with Fortino Lara so that the latter might become attorney general. Córdova was not opposed to this and in an act of council the change of commissions was recorded.

This council had many difficulties with the Commissariat of the Ejidos, because the

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[29] In 1947, the date of my last visit to the village, Tepoztlán still had no electricity.

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[1941-1942]

175 646 663 [624] [652] latter had control of the forests. The municipal president maintained that the commissariat should not have authority in matters of forestry. There was a certain amount of hatred between them, though not declared. The council was seeking funds to meet the outstanding expenses which were incurred within the municipal administration. Seeing that there were no sources of revenue, the council voted to call together on a certain day all the charcoal makers and to ask them for their cooperation; that is, that they should give one day's work to cut down trees and cut them into logs, so that they might make charcoal kilns for the benefit of the council, and that the profits from those kilns would go into the municipal treasury.

All agreed to accept and to meet on the appointed day in the appointed place to cut the trees. The charcoal makers only cut about ten trees, which yielded little money for the council's purposes. There was nothing to do about it but give in, because only enough [652] money came of it to pay the person who watched over the furnace when it was burning. The municipal president despaired more than ever, because he saw that the money coming into the municipal treasury was barely enough to pay the few miserable salaries of the township employees. Not even the police could afford three men to keep watch over the peace.

The municipal president did not give up. He wanted to follow faithfully what he had promised. He began to work to improve the public market, soliciting federal aid. When it came to the ears of the dwellers in the town that there was a question of building the market, some of them immediately went to the municipal president's office; they made it clear that if such a market were to be completed, their properties in that vicinity must be respected. The municipal president demanded documentation to substantiate the true ownership of the small pieces of land which were within the property belonging to the township. Most of them presented their documents, and they reached a settlement that it would be preferable to pick the property by lot, in agreement with the owners. And, together with the council, they would finish the rooms which would be used for trade. As was said before, all this reached the stage of study but nothing more was ever done.

About the month of August of the second year of his administration, Fulgencio Campos admitted that he was failing in his intention to bring about some improvement [367] for the town. He decided to play his last card and pave the public gardens. This time he [653] interviewed not the civil authorities but the military. It happened at the time that federal workers were within the township breaking stone for the highway. Campos interviewed the chief of the military zone and set forth all the reasons for his aspirations and his desire to leave some work for his people. The military chief agreed that a few of the trucks which were being used to carry stone for the highway should be left at the municipal president's office so that they might be utilized in the paving of the public gardens. The trucks arrived right away, and the council tried to raise funds to pay for the sand and cement. The council agreed that the work should be completed after the end of the rainy season, that is, about the month of October, so that the rains would not slow up the work of the paving.

175 646 682 The day of the national celebrations, that is, the sixteenth of September, the comptroller, Saturnino Córdova, who was commissioned to list the animals at the slaughterhouse, got drunk with some friends. Most of his acquaintances were men in the meat business.

On the seventeenth it was learned that Córdova had disappeared and could not be found anywhere. About five in the afternoon a woman reported a corpse in a ravine near

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[1941-1942]

the municipal slaughterhouse. The authorities took the corpse to the Town Hall for identification, because birds of prey had already mutilated the face and part of the body. The investigations began, and finally it was known that Córdova had been murdered inside the slaughterhouse and his body thrown into the ravine. 175 646 682

At that time there was also an investigation going on in the office of the under secretary of the Ministerio Público for cattle stealing. It was discovered that the lost animals had been slaughtered in the municipal slaughterhouse, and that the animals had been stolen by the same persons who had murdered Córdova because he was trying to discover the thieves. The council aided Córdova's family with burial and what was necessary to settle a few other expenses. The council proceeded to call the alternate for the comptroller's office, to take charge of the post which Córdova had been filling. [685]

In a short time the cement necessary for the paving of the public gardens was bought. Only half of the job could be done, and this only with the councillors giving a part of their pay. An additional sum of fifty pesos, which had been given by a woman toward the pipe line for drinking water, also went into the paving of the public gardens and the fixing of benches. The president, on leaving his post, got into a suit over this fifty pesos; the people said he had stolen it. 175 646 663

ADMINISTRATION OF 1943–44

On the first of January, 1943, the only candidates who had taken part in the elections of the first Sunday in December were inaugurated: Municipal President, Emilio Martínez; Comptroller, Benito Vargas; and Attorney General, Carlos Quiroz. In the first council meeting they decided to increase the taxes of the township for the purpose of town improvements. All those who take office as presidents are always eager to improve their town. The council in agreement with the Commissariat of the Ejidos, who had some funds for the development of the forests, took those funds and bought the necessary cement and sand to finish the paving of the public gardens. And the work was finished in a few weeks. [666] [652] [367] [653]

There came a fiesta at which people drank too much, and as this municipal president, Emilio Martínez, had many friends, who were constantly inviting him to have a drink, he drank all that day. When evening came and it was getting dark, he was completely drunk. Upon getting into the bus he met another man who was also far gone, and they started a commotion. They went from words to blows and from blows to kicks. When Martínez saw the other man stretched out, he began to kick him until his relatives and the police intervened. Of course, the man was taken to jail, and although he had received the blows from Martínez, he was fined five pesos. 175 646 661

Martínez had a son who was completing his military service. In a short time stories began to circulate to the effect that young Mexican men were going to be sent to war, which was then at its height. Undoubtedly they hinted this to Martínez. According to the story they tell, he organized a band of bad fellows, and on the Sunday when his son was en route to the barracks this band attacked the vehicle in which he was riding. Martínez claimed that his son had been kidnapped by bandits, but the matter did not end there. The state governor gave orders to the chief of the judicial police, and one day when Martínez was in the city he was apprehended and taken to the state penitentiary at the disposition of the governor of the state. As soon as the other members of the council learned that Martínez was being held in prison, they called the comptroller, as was provided in the law, to take the office of municipal president for seventy days. The comp

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[1943-1944]

175 646 661 troller accepted gladly because from the beginning he had wanted to be president. In a few days Martínez was freed, and when he returned to the president's office, the comptroller was forced to resign. The alternate comptroller, Froylan García, was called up to take the office.

The attorney general for some reason or other began to quarrel with Martínez, gradually drawing away from him even in the negotiations which involved both their offices. It reached the point where the attorney general undertook obligations without informing the municipal president. This deepened the rift still more. The attorney general began to hurl charges at Martínez availing himself of the support of some citizens who were his adherents.

When this reached the ears of the state government, Martínez and the other councillor were called on for explanations, but it turned out that they could not prove the charges they were making. On the contrary, the attorney general and his supporters suffered a call from the government to appear. It did not end there.

[316] At that time citizens were taking stone out of the quarry, and the attorney general alleged that the president was charging for the extraction of the stone and keeping the money. Because of this the split became even deeper, until finally the attorney general hardly ever went to the municipal president, but contented himself with carrying on his affairs in the lower tribunal. He tried to win the friendship of the comptroller so that there would be a majority against the municipal president, but as there were occasions when there were things which were damaging to the comptroller, he could not come to terms with the attorney general but continued faithful to the municipal president. Those

175 646 653 two councillors, together with a few enthusiastic citizens, tried to form a committee to bring about the construction of a school in the town. They could get together only a small fund because at that time the president of Mexico had already ordered the construction of the present school, through the diligence of Angel Bocanegra. That was the end of the labors of the committee formed by the council and other citizens; they had succeeded in getting together barely 250 pesos which have remained in the power of the comptroller up to the present time.

When the dry season arrived, and drinking water began to be scarce everywhere, the

[312] council decided to improve or level the piping which brought water to the town. The council succeeded in getting together many people who willingly lent themselves to improving the pipe line. They asked for help from a man who was the manager of the Bank of Mexico, who collaborated by buying some pipes which the council needed. As the

175 646 661 attorney general saw that he had not succeeded in discrediting the president, he decided to complain to the office of the attorney general of the state, so that the president would be judged for all the crimes which, according to the attorney general, he had committed. After trying every means to harm the municipal president without success, the attorney general presented his resignation. It was accepted right away, and the alternate for the position was called immediately. The people of the town had grumbled about the outgoing attorney general because, when he was sitting in judgment on a case, he almost always used vulgar words to call attention to the delinquents.

175 646 665 666 The council, which was about to finish its term, began to think about its successor. Each member tried to leave a friend in office, using every means possible so that he might remain. The municipal president held conferences with some friends of his in the town and in the other towns. Again the town was divided into three parties; some belonged to the party of the council and its candidates, others were led by Vicente Campos, and

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[1943-1944] 175 646 665 666

others by Federico Campos, aided by the Fraternales. The municipal president took up this problem with the governor of the state, with the deputy for the district, and with the president of the political party, but nothing was gained. After the legal elections, all the candidates came out null and void. The state government intervened in the matter and appointed the municipal council. This council, made up of completely different persons, was to take office on the first of January like a legally elected council.

ADMINISTRATION OF 1945–46

On the first of January, 1945, the appointed municipal council was installed, consisting of J. Guadalupe Ortega, Miguel Ríos, and Fortino Guzmán, in place of all the candidates who had set out to occupy the municipal offices. This council was pledged to send out within ninety days the summons for new elections to form the council which was to officiate during this same period. On the first of April, the candidates who were supported by the Fraternales—that is, Federico Campos as president, Domingo G. Alvarado as *regidor de hacienda*, and Juan Z. Rodríguez as attorney general—were installed. After having taken office, they proceeded to notify all the important people to take notice, also other friends whom they had in Mexico City.

175 646 653 312

Before coming to power, Federico Campos had counted on some adherents, among whom were some persons of moderate culture. But since he did not listen to their counsel he achieved nothing but hatred. These persons had proposed that he should improve the water system, a matter of great importance to the town. After the labors of experts, and efforts on all sides, Campos succeeded in getting the governor to sign a contract with the Secretariat of Health and Social Work to complete the work which was so much desired.

At the same time, the matter of obtaining electricity was discussed in an interview with the secretary of national economy, who ordered that additional studies should be made concerning the matter. Later they had an interview with the president of Mexico, who gave orders to the secretary of national economy. After all the efforts made in the different departments, the federal election of new officers gravely harmed the works completed. Since there was a complete change in the government, they declared that all the work was useless because it was necessary to have new studies made by the new officials.

With this, Campos lost heart completely, and he limited himself to expediting the matters in his office. Furthermore, since the other villages of the township knew that Campos was trying to improve the villages, others approached him for aid in the matter of bringing drinking water to their people. When the municipal president, or rather the council, saw that the villages were also interested, they tried to unite in order to bring about an adequate water system for all, and on one occasion they interviewed the authorities of another township which had a sufficient water supply to make additional outlets possible. The negotiations were successful, but this township was a considerable distance away, and much capital was required to purchase the materials needed to bring in the water. When the estimates were made, the sum was fantastic in relation to the economic possibilities of the villages.

175 646 658

This council also tried to improve the town by aiding in the literacy campaign. Since the adults, who did not know how to read or write, refused to study, the council visited all the villages of the township and named the sub-committees, just as an extension of the committee of four hundred working in the municipal seat. Campos tried to raise funds to pay the teachers at the literacy centers. When people refused to contribute or to attend classes, he acted in accordance with the law and punished those who did not comply

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[1945-1946]

175 646 658 But as there are always people who try to interfere with the work of the individual in charge, these people got together and complained to the government of the state. They declared that they were being charged large sums, and that the money was being taken by the municipal president for himself. In view of this, Campos was suspended and called before the governor of the state, to render an account of the funds collected. The governor of the state later realized that these charges were merely calumnies with which the people were trying to discredit the municipal president.

175 646 [624] This council did not work in harmony with the Commissariat of the Ejidos, since they were of opposing parties. Because of this, the Commissariat of the Ejidos tried to usurp some properties of the township, such as the textile workshops, which are almost on the edge of the town. It was on this account that Campos, seeing that this was wrong, tried to oppose them. He also opposed them in the matter of the communal forests, which, though owned by the town, were being managed by the Commissariat of the Ejidos.

During this administration they also held the inauguration of the school which had been built by the request of Angel Bocanegra. Of course, there had to be high personages present, among them the president himself. The council tried to get together some funds for the inauguration, proceeding immediately to print coupons for sale to the citizens. The governor of the state learned of this and, as the state government had taken on itself the matter of the inauguration, he ordered that the funds which had been collected in the town should be refunded to each of the contributors.

On one occasion when the governor was to speak on the matter of the inauguration, the municipal president was not to be found in the town, and this was sufficient reason for the governor to become very angry. Speaking with the enemies of the council, he declared to them that they were authorized to impeach Campos and all the other members of the council and to set others in their places, who would know how to take care of the administration of a town. Some people wished to do this, but others decided that it was preferable that Campos should continue.

On the day of the inauguration of the school, Campos pinned a medal on Angel Bocanegra, calling him "favorite son of this town," and he also pinned another medal on the governor. When this council finished its term, it also tried to elect its candidate for the [666] municipal presidency. He was an intimate friend, but he could not win because of being from another township.

SUMMARY

The above account gives some insight into the behavior of politicians and touches upon some of the salient aspects of political life in the village. (See Fig. 48.) These might be summarized briefly as follows:

631 642 [666] (1) According to the law of the state of Morelos, municipios are to be free and autonomous political and administrative units. In practice we have seen that this is not the case. Rather, the municipio appears to be no more than an administrative dependency of the governor. It is he who resolves conflicts and makes most of the important decisions for the municipio, including the determination of who shall be the successful candidate. The incident cited above, whereby the president arranges with the opposition group in Tepoztlán to depose the president because the latter did not happen to be in the village when the governor made an unexpected call, is indicative of his arbitrary action.

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666 641 become quite enthusiastic participants in the election campaigns. Much of this is stimulated by visiting politicians who are skillful in making promises which Tepoztecans no longer even expect to be fulfilled. As a result they generally favor the opposition candidate as a matter of principle.

665 (5) The Colonia Tepozteco plays a major role in the political life of the village and tends to direct politics toward the right; some, however, proclaim their adherence to the principles of the Mexican Revolution. The Colonia keeps in close touch with the villlage and advises the village leaders on all important undertakings and offers legal and financial aid when the occasion arises.

●646 (6) Finally, the accounts show the division within the municipio government itself. It is a rare administration in which the three major officials, the president, the [631] *síndico*, and the *regidor* work harmoniously. There are also administrative dif- [624] ficulties between the municipal authorities and the federal and state authorities, particularly between the president and the Commissariat of the Ejidos.

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husbands and wives, a young wife often addressed her older husband in *Vd.*, while he used *tú* to her.

The *Vd.-tú* relationship may also exist between employer and employee, particularly if the latter is younger and is well known to the employer. However, if an employer addresses an older employee in the familiar form, it is a sign of lack of respect and is taken to be an insult. When both persons are of the same age and are not strangers, they address each other in the familiar form.

In pre-Revolutionary days it was customary for wealthy *caciques* to address the rest of the population as *tú*, regardless of age, and to be addressed as *Vd.* Today, wealth plays a minimal role in the *Vd.-tú* relationship, in part because of the absence of sharp class differences, in part because of the humble origins of many of the present well-to-do. The memory of the deep hostility and fierce vengeance of the subordinate population toward the *caciques* is also a deterrent in taking advantage of higher economic status.

Men holding political office or political ambitions are generally careful to avoid the *Vd.-tú* relationship with other adults for fear of offending. They prefer the *Vd.-Vd.* relationship, for they seek many *compadres*, or the *tú-tú* relationship in which they acknowledge friendship or acquaintance with most people of their own age group. However, local officials tend to speak condescendingly in the *Vd.-tú* relationship to more humble Tepoztecans, as well as to people from outlying villages, regardless of their age. This attitude of arrogance on the part of the officials and respect for the authorities on the part of the general population is carried over from pre-Revolutionary days, as is the notion that to speak to the local president in the familiar *tú* adds to an individual's importance. However, within Tepoztlán proper, officials no longer dare to express superiority of status to the majority of the adult inhabitants. Only the priest and nuns maintain an *Vd.-tú* relationship with the rest of the population.

The *tú-tú* relationship is an intimate one and is used between husband and wife, sweethearts, and children. It is also used between two people of the same sex and of approximately the same age. However, in Tepoztlán this *tú-tú* relationship does not always imply intimacy, but rather the possibility of intimacy. Thus, it is from the same age group that the *cuates*, drinking companions, singing companions, and so on, are drawn; but for the rest, the *tú-tú* relationship may be almost as reserved and formal as *Vd.-Vd.* In this, Tepoztlán and other rural villages differ from the city where the use of *tú-tú* is reserved for only the most intimate friends, all others of the same age being addressed as *Vd.*

At least among the school children and older students there is a tendency toward urban usage of *tú* and *Vd.*, that is, the custom of having fewer but more intimate *tú* relationships and a greater number of *Vd.* relationships. Traditionally in Tepoztlán, although members of the same sex and age group continue to call each other *tú*, there is a marked withdrawal from intimate relations as they get older and particularly after marriage. The *tú-tú* relationship is undoubtedly a potentially dangerous one to continue, because of the equality of status and the possibility of

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

In any one year, school enrollment is highest in the first and second grades and successively lower in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. As each class is promoted, the number of pupils declines. 871

For example, if we follow the class of 1941 from the second grade we find the following drop in enrollment:

Year	*Grade*	*Enrollment*		*Total*
		Boys	*Girls*	
1941	Second	82	57	139
1942	Third	53	26	79
1943	Fourth	—	—	—
1944	Fifth	31	19	50
1945	Sixth	21	14	35

Between the second and third grade, the drop in enrollment was over 40 per cent. Although the average decline is less than that, it is high enough to reflect the negative attitude of parents toward education. The ability to read and write on a simple level satisfies the standards of most mothers and fathers.

Despite this widespread attitude, total school enrollment has increased steadily. There has been an increase of more than 50 per cent in school attendance between 1941 and 1948. In 1941, approximately 49 per cent of the children between age six and fifteen were enrolled in school. A greater proportion of boys (56 per cent) of this age group than girls (41 per cent) went to school. In the other six years for which we have figures, the enrollment of girls is consistently less than boys in each age group.

According to the teaching staff of the central school (see Fig. 56), the most serious problem is attendance. Absence from school is extremely high during all the important fiestas and in the months of June and July, when there is a great deal of work in the fields. Truancy among boys in the third and fourth grades is also high. Only a minority of the parents feel obligated to give school priority over such activities as helping at home or in the field, and this minority is generally in the middle economic group. The wealthy, who own many animals, and the poor, who "have nothing," depend more upon their children's labor. The school staff is helpless in putting pressure on those parents who keep their children home from school, and must depend upon the local officials whose policy it is to do nothing to incur the anger of the voters unnecessarily. 872 [646]

Tardiness is also a serious problem since parents, in general, are not time conscious, and often keep a child at home until he has completed his chores. This situation has been met by ringing the church bell each morning and afternoon, and by arranging a competition for punctuality among the classes. [805]

In the kindergarten and first grade, the fearfulness and crying of the children are problems. Each year, at the beginning of the term, five to eight children cry chronically and must be sent home. The first-grade teacher observed that the children who had attended kindergarten before entering her class showed much 872 866

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
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escape his watchful eye. Nor did it escape the notice of others in positions of power who did hold office. While the medical aspects of the clinic were of paramount concern to local health practitioners, its organizational aspects attracted the watchfulness of local political officials.

The Political Climate of Tepoztlán

The village of Tepoztlán is the largest of eight villages that comprise the municipality of Tepoztlán. It is the seat of the municipal government and as such is the most important administrative and political center of the municipality. The municipality of Tepoztlán is one of 27 municipios of the state of Morelos. It is governed by the state constitution which provides for "free municipios," local governments elected by popular vote.

The municipal government consists of the following officers: mayor, syndic, comptroller, secretary, treasurer, police chief, subpolice chief, justice of the peace, his secretary, and a porter. In addition, there are eight councilmen, each representing one of the wards of the village. The four major officials—mayor, syndic, comptroller, and justice of the peace—are elected by popular vote for a two-year period. The other officials are appointed by the mayor in agreement with the syndic and comptroller.

The duties of the major officials are determined by state law. Their manner of functioning depends upon their personalities. A meek mayor will serve only as a figurehead and allow the syndic and secretary to run the government. An aggressive mayor may take over the functions of the other officials. As executive officer, the mayor is the official representative of Tepoztlán in dealings with the outside. His signature is necessary for most correspondence and official acts. He sets the fines for infractions of the law; in addition, villagers often bring their private difficulties and family quarrels to him.

By far the greatest number of tasks falls to the secretary. He is generally the most literate of the officials. He opens and closes the government offices six days a week, signs all correspondence, attends all public functions, maintains the records of the munici-

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
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pio, advises the other officers of the state law, keeps the mayor informed of all complaints, and attends to all complaints and requests for certifications.

According to the law of the state of Morelos, Tepoztlán is supposed to be a free and autonomous political and administrative unit. In practice, however, the municipio appears more as an administrative dependency of the state governor. It is he who makes most of the municipio's major decisions, and decides local conflicts. There are no well-organized political parties in Tepoztlán; rather there are a number of loosely organized factions. This makes it necessary for every candidate for political office to play politics skillfully to obtain sufficient support from the unorganized electorate. Any recent incident or situation in the public eye is enlisted to further one's political fortunes. Municipal elections command much public attention and are bitterly fought.

When the medical clinic was established early in 1944, local politicians were looking ahead to the municipal elections in November. The mayor especially was worried about his position, since he had been temporarily jailed a short time before by the state governor for practicing nepotism. The comptroller, who had been appointed mayor pro tem, was most reluctant to relinquish this office when the mayor was released and ready to regain his post. Two councilmen with their eye on higher office had formed an "Education Committee" to espouse the construction of a new school and were hostile to the newly appointed principal of the existing school.

It was into this atmosphere of political intrigue and jockeying for power that the clinic happened to be introduced. It intruded directly or indirectly into the sphere of interest of important and influential figures in Tepoztlán—Don Rosas, the mayor, the comptroller, the Education Committee, the school principal, and others. Since none of these could claim credit for introducing this new public service and since its presence distracted the people from the coming elections and served as a reminder of how little the local officials did for the village, the clinic became the object of their attack. Each in his own way examined our project as a whole to find something that presented a vulnerable front for attack. They found it in the testing program.